

PEACE NEWS

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Peace - Without the Policeman?

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

says of his recent article on "Peace with the Policeman" that it has "proved provocative in a way which I did not intend: it has given rise to serious misunderstanding. I will do what I can to remove it."

In the first place, I must make it quite clear that I was not advocating a super-League of Nations after the pattern of Versailles. The conception of a League of Nations, with a super-national force, was used simply to drive home to pacifists the necessity to think out their conception of "peace."

What, I asked, do they mean by "peace"? Is the existing domestic society an example of a peaceful society? If it is, then it must be recognized that this peaceful society rests ultimately on a sanction of force. That sanction of force has general consent behind it. It is not arbitrary. The consent is that force shall be used in enforcing obedience to the law on those who do not voluntarily obey it.

If this is indeed our conception of a peaceful domestic society, I argued, then we must admit that a peaceful society of nations will also require a sanction of force behind its law. It is perfectly true that such a sanction of force would be inoperative, if there were not consent behind it: real consent that force should be used to enforce obedience to the law on those members of the society of nations who do not voluntarily obey it.

This real consent obviously involves an important surrender of national sovereignty. A peaceful society of entirely independent nations is quite inconceivable.

The abolition of national armies is the indispensable condition of a peaceful society of nations; and independence without a national army to defend it, independence with the obligation not to form a national army, is utterly different from national independence as it is currently understood.

Essential Condition

This assumption that the most vital instrument of national sovereignty, namely the national army, has been surrendered, is essential to any realistic plan of a society, or league, or federation of nations.

Plans of collective security based on the retention of national independence and national armies fully deserve all the contempt that pacifists feel and express for them. They are only blue-prints for bigger and better wars.

I wrote in my article:

"It is self-deception to despise peace with the policeman, between the nations, unless you are certain that you are capable of peace without the policeman."

I did not anticipate that "peace with the policeman, between the nations" would be interpreted as collective security after the pattern of the now defunct League of totally independent nations. Pacifists have every right to despise that.

What I meant by "peace with the policeman between the nations" was an international society, or league, or federation, in which (as in the domestic society) the member nations have as effectively surrendered their claim to complete independence and a national army as the ordinary citizen has surrendered his claim to independence and a private machine-gun to defend it.

Historically, that surrender (in England) was gradual. In the time

of the Wars of the Roses there were private armies operating all over the country. Civil peace was finally imposed by force *majeure*, just as it was in the Roman Empire. And just as, in the Roman Empire, the Imperial Legions were recruited from all the medley of races, so they will be in any effective society of nations. Such an international force would be the real analogue of the police in the civil society.

Improvement on "Anarchy"

I myself think that such an international society would be a vast improvement on the international anarchy of today. But it is not my particular business as a pacifist to advocate it. My business as a pacifist is to try to create a cell of a civil society of peace which has no need of the policeman.

But those pacifists who, unlike me, are content with the peace of the civil society as it is must, I think, do more than accept the desirability of an international society with an international police force (as defined above). They ought positively to advocate it. They need not fear that this is inconsistent with their pacifism. Universal abolition of national armies, which is the pre-requisite of such a world-society, has always been a pacifist objective. Whether they feel themselves able to support the creation of a genuine world-police, I must leave to them. But if they feel they cannot do so, then I maintain that they ought to re-think their attitude to the domestic society. They cannot consistently accept the civil policeman at home and repudiate the international policeman. They must repudiate the policeman in both spheres: and I think they ought to avow themselves the anarchists they really are.

Finally, though the pacifist who is not an anarchist is (I think) bound to accept the conception of a society of nations with a genuine international police-force to keep the peace, he is not under any obligation to enlist in it: any more than the non-anarchist pacifist member of the civil society is under an obligation to become a policeman. Men are called to different functions as members of society.

INEXHAUSTIBLE!

THE Peace News fund this week is notably enriched by two substantial donations. £15 comes from an individual donor who writes:

"It gives me much pleasure to help the PN Fund, or Fighting Fund, or whatever you desire to call it. So please accept the enclosed gift with the continued hope of furthering a constructive peace. May God bless the users!"

And a further £12 10s. is the aftermath of the Birmingham meeting. "Someone who was present and was greatly impressed made an anonymous donation of £10 towards the costs of the meeting," writes the Birmingham treasurer.

What an inexhaustible fund of goodwill and eagerness for constructive peace-making there is in this movement of ours!

Contributions since April 12: £42 18s. 2d. Total to date £4,369 6s. 6d.

THE EDITOR

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PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

Appeal of The New Order

IT must have been under official inspiration that the press last weekend harped in unison on the merit of German propaganda for a united Europe. Because of Italian pressure, said The Observer for example (Apr. 18), German propaganda has dropped all talk of the Herrenvolk, and is concentrating on the more attractive aspects of the European New Order. Neither Hitler nor Goebbels needed persuasion from Mussolini on this score. German propaganda has never ceased trying to make the New Order appear attractive. And, although it has long been the practice of British propaganda to treat the German New Order as a fantastic though sinister product of Hitler's megalomania, there are now signs of alarm lest German propaganda may be making some real impression in Europe.

Various factors have combined to increase its appeal. First, the apparent possibilities of a Russian advance into Europe; second, in consequence of this, a very palpable stiffening of the Russian demands on Eastern Europe, and on Poland in particular; and third, the continued inability of the British Government, or the American, or the United Nations as a whole to formulate any coherent or credible political system for Europe.

Mr. Churchill's View

THIS lack of political creativeness is, when soberly considered, rather astonishing. It is as easy to understand that the difficulties in the way of Britain, Russia, and America agreeing on a European system are enormous and possibly insuperable; it is very much harder to understand why the British Government is apparently unaware how imperative it is to put a coherent picture of Europe before the European imagination.

Mr. Churchill's treatment of this vital subject in his recent speech was superficial. Plainly, he still believes that planning Europe must wait upon victory. But that is manifestly false. Victory for the "United Nations" without previous political agreement would simply mean chaos. And that is what the people of Europe are afraid of. The more they are afraid of it, the more sympathetic they become to the German New Order, and the less inclined to believe that a bloody and prolonged campaign by British-American armies on the European continent can do them any good whatever.

The Truth in Parliament

LORD Lytton's speech in the House of Lords on Apr. 15 was a valuable corrective to the illusionism which conceives the peoples of Europe as longing for liberation from the German yoke (by means of blockade and battle) and preparing for armed insurrection. His work (he said) brought him into contact with representatives of the occupied countries of Europe. He found that they were anxious about what alternative the United Nations would offer them to Hitler's New Order.

"We know, and they know, quite well how,

Papal Blessing

American Army Headquarters state that Archbishop Spellman, of New York City, chief Catholic prelate of the US Army Chaplain Corps, gave the Papal blessing to Catholic combat crewmen of the US Eighth Air Force before the bombing raid on works at Antwerp....

The German News Agency said this morning that 180 children trapped in the cellars of a bombed building in Antwerp had not yet been extricated. Many blocks of flats and other buildings were destroyed and hundreds of bodies are buried under the wreckage, says the agency.

—Liverpool Post, Apr. 6.

in the event of an Axis victory, Hitler will supply security. He will give them security behind the armed forces of the German Reich, and that is the only attractive feature in his New Order. It may perhaps surprise young Lordships to hear that there is any attractive feature in the Hitler New Order. But, believe me, that feature is very attractive now. Its attraction for the peoples of Europe is much greater than we are apt to believe. Under the New Order there would not, perhaps, be very much freedom. All the countries concerned would be dependent upon Germany, but many of them would even prefer dependence with security to a freedom which entails insecurity. And they say to us: 'We know, of course, what kind of peace would follow an Axis victory; what do we not know and what we want to know is what kind of peace would follow an Allied victory' (Handard, Apr. 14).

Not since the war began has that unpalatable truth been so plainly stated in the Parliament of this country. Though it may seem strange to minds nourished on slogans, it is not strange at all. To surrender "freedom" (in the very limited sense of knowing that one's country is "sovereign and independent") for security from war is a very good bargain probably the best that the European peoples can make today. Practically and ethically they would be exchanging a worse situation for a better one.

"New Europe" is "Selling"

IT is no wonder, then, that the press has begun, very guardedly indeed, to admit that German propaganda for the New Europe is having effect. "So far, it has failed," says the Sunday Times (Apr. 18). How, one asks, will its success be indicated except by such happenings as the convention of genuinely representative national assemblies in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, as reported here a fortnight ago?" The Observer (Apr. 18) gives a brief account of the new German propaganda for "free collaboration between European peoples," and says:

"Though all this sounds like a bad joke to us, and must sound like a wicked mockery to the oppressed and starving peoples of the conquered countries, it deserves some attention. Frequent hints, especially in the Italian press, indicate that it is the prelude to the proclamation of a 'European Charter' by the Axis, which may be accompanied by some political concessions to the conquered."

That is the general tone of the press. The European Charter and the German "peace-offensive," which have been threatened ever since the German-Russian campaign, are now at hand.

Polish Suspicions

IT is admitted, too, that German propaganda is featuring with considerable effect "the massacre of the Forest of Katyn," near Smolensk, in which place the Germans allege that from 10,000 to 12,000 Polish officers, whose bodies they say they have exhumed, were murdered by the Russians. The Polish Government in exile has requested the International Red Cross to investigate the story, and the D. Telegraph (Apr. 17) says that this number of Polish officers have undoubtedly been missing since 1939.

Meanwhile the Polish National Council has unanimously passed a resolution of "sorrow and distress" at

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Bombing Policy

"Now for the first time, on any large scale," wrote the New Statesman on Apr. 10, "the German news service is telling uncontradicted stories of the useless destruction and ghastly casualties which have resulted from American daylight bombing of towns like Antwerp and Rouen where thousands of people who should be our friends and allies are said to have been killed.

"It should be remembered that daylight raids always kill a large number of people, whereas the casualties for night raiding have proved much smaller than any one expected. Moreover, these daylight raids have to be carried out at a great height; the bombs fall on markets and crowded streets out of a clear sky. These towns are not even in the battle area. I cannot believe this is a sane policy. It is a strange story to have to tell after so much propaganda about the perfect precision of the American bomb-sight."

How far the New Statesman is justified in suggesting that this particular development of a barbarous bombing policy is due to the Americans, we naturally have no idea. It may be an American innovation. But it would be hypocrisy to pretend that it is not fully in accordance with the threats repeatedly made by the Prime Minister and various chiefs of the Royal Air Force. Their bark may have been worse than their intended bite. If so, their threats of indiscriminate destruction from the air were as politically foolish as they were morally wicked. If it is indeed the Americans who have been the first to indulge in indiscriminate daylight bombing from great heights, there is no doubt that we shall get most of the blame for it.

And if it should be proved that the Americans have been more barbarous than ourselves in this particular matter, there is plenty of evidence available nowadays to show that we are not far behind in this outrageous warfare. One newspaper, for example, publishes a lurid photograph of a city "one sheet of flame" as the result of a British bombing raid, without even bothering to tell us what the name of the city is (D. Mail, Apr. 13). Evidently, it is by now reckoned satisfactory, and satisfying, that any German city should be burned to the ground. All German cities, simply because they are German cities, have become legitimate military objectives.

Mr. William Hickey himself is constrained to protest (D. Express, Apr. 13) against the jubilant publication of a picture of Berlin Cathedral in flames after an RAF raid. Certainly, he merely "doubts the wisdom" of the publication.

"The RAF (he says) only hits cathedrals by accident; we do not make deliberate Baedeker raids. But such publicity tends to offset our just protests against the destruction of Coventry and the attacks on Canterbury and Exeter."

We remember that the so-called Baedeker raids were a direct retaliation for the bombing of the historic German Hansa towns of Rostock and Lubeck by the RAF, when the claim was openly made that a large portion of the ancient city in both cases had been completely destroyed. Even if that was not the primary objective, there is no doubt that the ancillary destruction was described with satisfaction in the most reputable organs of the press. Our propaganda, at least, if not our act, gave the Germans plenty of excuse for the reprisals they attempted on that occasion.

But the point is that steadily and incessantly our standard of morality in the matter of bombing is degenerating. We have now reached a point at which, whether or not the bombers can, the public certainly cannot, and does not, discriminate between bombing exploits. All bombing is good; bombing of Germany, bombing of occupied countries; bombing in daylight, bombing at night. It grows more and more probable that, if the second front on the Continent proves to be difficult to establish, a substitute will be found in an orgy of indiscriminate bombing of everything.

Papal Peace Efforts

the execution of Ehrlich and Alter, the leaders of the Polish Bund (Jewish-Socialist). It says it does not believe the official Russian statement that they were engaged in pro-Fascist activities and concludes:

"The official announcement of the shooting of these two men aroused the deepest concern in the minds of the Polish public as to the fate of those thousands of Polish citizens deported to the depths of Russia concerning whom the Soviet authorities have not yet given sufficient information."

Russian Counter - Propaganda

THE propaganda struggle takes a singularly horrible turn in the Russian reply to the German charges about Smolensk. Moscow wireless makes the counter-allegation that it is a German frame-up. "The bodies must have been embalmed and the alleged documents treated in some special way so that they should be preserved."

"There were, in fact, some former Polish prisoners in 1941 in the area west of Smolensk. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Smolensk they fell, together with many Soviet citizens, into the hands of the German Fascist executioners. Some of them were killed immediately by the Germans. Others were left alive for a special occasion; this occasion has come now."

"German Fascists have shot thousands of unarmed people, supplied the bodies with touched up documents, which came from Gestapo archives, and buried their victims on Russian soil... Thus the mystery becomes understandable. The Polish prisoners were murdered by the Germans, and this wholesale murder took place recently; that is why the bodies had not decomposed."

The Communist will believe that, I suppose, and the Fascist will believe the other. If I were a Pole, I should trust neither the indignation of the Germans, nor the explanation of the Russians. And that is apparently what the Poles are doing. The Polish Cabinet concludes a statement with these words:

"The Polish Government deny the right to exploit all the crimes committed against Polish citizens for political manoeuvres by whoever is guilty of these crimes."

OWLGLASS SET THEM TO MUSIC

AN increasing number of people are asking whether anything is ever going to be done to save the Jews except pass resolutions.

This attitude of unseemly haste is well expressed in a letter to a newspaper I've just read:

"Resolutions of admonition are solemnly pronounced... yet for all the talk, the massacre goes relentlessly on. Phrases are empty, and platitudes meaningless, if not backed up by action... Are the nations in earnest to save the Jewish people?"

And it ends with what I must sorrowfully regard as a nasty crack: "Perhaps there is no hurry, since extermination might solve the Jewish problem."

SOME people might be satisfied to regard these resolutions as works of literature and let it go at that. Undoubtedly, many of them are very nicely put and might profitably be set to music. But in this utilitarian age one cannot ignore the demands of these unfortunate people who want something done.

Let us, therefore, examine a typical resolution with a coldly analytical eye, and try and discover, from internal evidence, why action never follows speech.

Here, as a specimen, is a resolution passed recently by the Aberystwyth Branch of the League of Nations Union,

"...urging the Government, in view of the massacre and starvation of Jews and others in enemy and enemy-occupied countries, to take immediate steps on the most generous scale compatible with the requirements of military operations and security, to provide help and temporary asylum for persons in danger of massacre..."

HERE, in the operative clause — "compatible with the requirements of military operations and security"—we have, I think, an explanation of delayed action.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

The Vatican and Peace

NO-ONE would imagine otherwise than that the Pope is eager to seize any opportunity that offers of mediating peace to Europe. But the hint in News Review (Apr. 15) that the return to this country of Mr. Osborne, the British Minister at the Vatican, may mark a decisive development is, alas, too good to be true. Definite evidence of the Pope's unremitting activities towards peace is, however, visible in the Spanish Foreign Minister's offer of all the help Spain can give towards "the speedy re-establishment of world-peace." Jordana's offer was promptly turned down by Mr. Cordell Hull. A German News Agency message published in all the Madrid newspapers says that Berlin approves Gen. Jordana's speech (Express, Apr. 19).

Simultaneously, it may be worth noting, new and notable German ambassadors are appointed to Spain and the Vatican: Dieckhoff, pro-Nazi ambassador in London 1926-30, to the former; von Weizsaecker, former head of the League of Nations department of the German Foreign Office, to the latter. Taken together with the recent appointment of Ciano to the Vatican, these changes certainly seem to point to an increase in the importance of the Vatican as a centre of diplomatic activity, to put it diplomatically.

The Pope's Alleged Price

THERE is much more on the theme of a Vatican-mediated peace in Reynolds (Apr. 18). Here is one of the stories it contains:

"When Roosevelt's emissary, Myron Taylor, went to see the Pope some time ago... he was able to learn that the Vatican was prepared to use its influence to draw the Catholic countries away from Germany and isolate her, but only at a certain price. The price was that Fascist and semi-Fascist regimes of such countries as Spain, Italy, and Hungary should not share in Germany's collapse; that there should be no Popular Front Governments in Western Europe, and that a limit should be set to Russia's consolidation in the East."

Evidently, there are two contradictory theories (or speculations): one that the Vatican is trying to mediate a separate peace for Italy, the other that it is a general European peace which is in contemplation. The one theory gets mixed up with the other. Honestly, I do not see much substance in either; but the latter is more likely than the former.

"Decent Enough Chaps"

SIR Stafford Cripps was not exactly reassuring about the U-boat war when he spoke at Bristol on Apr. 18. "I can say that

the menace is far from being mastered." Doenitz, the submarine expert who has now become C-in-C of the German Navy, is a formidable enemy. An otherwise excellent description of him in the Observer (Apr. 18) says: "His humanity as a chief clashes strangely with his lack of chivalry as a foe."

I happened to find myself lately sitting next to a Norwegian sailor in the train. He volunteered the information that when his ship was torpedoed in the Caribbean Sea, the U-boat commander took great care that the crew got safely into the life-boats before giving the coup de grace, set them a course for land, and gave them all the cigarettes they needed. "They're decent enough chaps!" said the sailor.

INDIA: AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN OPINION

THE following report in the Manchester Guardian, April 5, is regarded by the Indian Freedom Campaign as an important opportunity to arouse public — and particularly Christian — opinion on the Indian crisis:

"An appeal to make public a declaration of the facts of the Indian situation and the moral and spiritual issues involved for the British and Indian peoples has been made in an open letter addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Metropolitan of India, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the President of the Free Church Council.

"The letter says that the India situation has culminated in a wholly negative and unconstructive relationship, but that, given statesmanship, initiative, and foresight and a readiness to negotiate on equal terms, a new chapter can be begun in the history of the relations with that unhappy country which will conform to the standards of responsible Government required by the new world which we are determined to build." The appeal for a declaration is made so that Christian opinion may be rightly informed and its constructive influence brought to bear upon developments."

It is suggested that supporters of the Indian Freedom Campaign should ask local clergy to support this appeal in letters to their church leaders, and secure press and other publicity for it.

suggests that, since resolutions on saving the Jews seem to serve no better purpose, we might —

The odds are 10 dress-coupons to a sugar-ration that they will adopt course No. 3. But the resolutions will not be wasted.

As expressions of an unattainable ideal, they will have their place in national poetry. As recordings of human heart-throbs, they will have considerable anthropological interest. As either or both, they will provide excellent material for community singing.

And if, ultimately, we have to inform the Jews that we cannot rescue them without spoiling the war, they will, I'm sure, reply that they would rather be exterminated than jeopardize the security of their rescuers, and that they die happy in expectation of a heaven well paved with our good resolutions.

MEANWHILE, let us assure the suffering Europeans that though the quality of our Mercy is officially strained, and our Charity officially controlled, there still abide, outside the rationing scheme, these two — Faith and Hope, of which they can draw upon our stocks to any extent.

A closing word. One frequently hears, in broadcast accounts of attacks on enemy shipping, that our planes "scored several near misses."

When I was young, a miss was accounted as good as a mile. Today, apparently, a miss is something actually gained.

May we therefore hope that the persecuted peoples of Europe will find some comfort in the knowledge that we have scored, on their behalf, several near rescues?

IN view of the fact, therefore, that the longer the war continues, the worse will be the condition of these people, there seem to be three possible courses to pursue:

- (1) Demand peace negotiations on conditions of Jewish freedom and safety;
- (2) Exchange these resolutions for expressions of regret;
- (3) Go on passing resolutions.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

WORDS OF PEACE - 17

Way of Life

From a Pacifist Service Unit (the writer's grandfather was Viceroy of India):

WE have here 37 men working as male orderlies and porters in the two hospitals, working hard and without the prospect of romantic or dangerous work in the future. I think what was said about patient and humble service prepared me for these last months, but all of us have certainly been brought face to face with pacifism as a way of life.

The work has nothing to be said for it, for its own sake; it is a round of scrubbing, brushing, mopping, pig-buckets, and washing-up. Only a faith rekindled every morning can keep us at it, and, more important, keep us at it in the right spirit, so that we bear witness to our creed...

Some are not contented here; they are disillusioned and join the RAMC, or throw themselves into the East End of London to escape the depression. These are a few. But chiefly I should like you to meet the staunch band who work on undismayed day after day, without a breath of complaint and grow in the strength of their faith. For even the most faithful, there are moments of uncertainty.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 200 words.

"Peace—& the Policeman"

SURELY Mr. Middleton Murry is wrong to suggest that a nation's waging war is comparable to the misbehaviour of an individual. Of course we all have our little weaknesses and some of us are criminals, and it is easy to get into trouble with the police. But as for going to war—how could we, if our rulers had not organized it for us? They organize it for us with long, vast, secret preparation of finance, arms, commodities, and man-power. They organize it for us without our asking them to or wishing them to. In fact, we have to be taught to respond to their martial plans.

However imperfect we may be as individuals and fearful of the policeman at home, the mass of us in any country show no warlike tendencies until we have been perverted by propaganda. Even then we are impotent without the machinations of the organizers. Would they be deterred by the international policeman? Should we be allowed to think twice?

PAUL SPENCER
Winterfold, E. Horsley, Surrey.

Causes of War

The reason why nations put themselves into that state of opposition one to another which leads ultimately to war is the same as that which prompts Labour to oppose Capital: dissatisfaction with "the system"—the system which distributes differentially the world's material wealth between nations, in the one case, and the nation's between individuals in the other.

Between nations the disparity in material wealth is enormous and is, I believe, greater than most pacifists imagine. Some years ago the Dawes Committee on German reparations attempted to assess Germany's "ability to pay" by the expedient of asking a number of nations to state what they considered the minimum of subsistence for their populations—on the grounds that only national income in excess of such minimum could be asked to bear so special a burden as reparations payments. The Italians rejected the British suggestion as too high, but were aghast at the American figure which, applied to Italy, blotted out the whole Italian national income from all sources!

In these circumstances it would be very surprising indeed if nations did not take steps to remedy such appalling inequality, and it would be even more surprising to discover that war was not the method actually resorted to for attempting such redress. When Signor Mussolini was cautioned by a well-meaning friend against embarking upon an Abyssinian campaign while his country's finances were still in so parlous a condition, the Duce's reply was "Of course we are too poor for

An Open Letter to The Bishop of Chelmsford

MY LORD,—A Member of Parliament has recently addressed an Open Letter to the Bishop of London on Sunday acting. Important though this may be, there are matters more momentous, in these times. One of them is whether Christianity is (in Dean Inge's words) a dying faith or any longer important. Mr. Herbert Agar tells us we fight this war for Democracy and Christianity, although Mr. Laski says that Christianity is a divisive influence, and that we had better not talk about it.

It is to you, my Lord, as a Father in God, that we look for guidance in these matters. We appreciate that a bishop moves in these days amid difficult currents which would upset the bark of the faith. We know that it is necessary to compromise with politicians and that, when the necessities of national strategy and the advancement of the faith have conflicting interests, it may be better to be silent. Rather, my Lord, it is your utterances and your ready commendations more than your silences that disturb us.

* * *

In a recent pamphlet, called "Believers and Clergy of the USSR" (a Soviet War News publication), we read how various Orthodox priests have shown, in the form of monetary contributions, "solicitude for the armoured tank forces of the Red Army," and have been thanked by Marshal Stalin for them.

As your own colleagues are witness, some years ago the present regime of what Marshal Stalin the other day called the Bolshevik party engaged in active persecution of all religion not conformable with its own. Nine churches of every ten were shut and remain shut, although, as observers bear witness, those that remain open are thronged by the faithful.

Is it yet remarkable that the faithful should make their contributions to the Russian Army? Without enquiring what would have happened to the Acting Patriarch Sergius if he had refused to open an account, has anyone suggested that those Orthodox are not patriotic Russians, not only willing, but glad, to pay their tribute money to Caesar? The Apostle Peter enjoined, not only the paying of tribute and obedience, but even honour to Caesar, although he was a pagan and might even be a persecutor, such as were Nero and Domitian.

Although there have been publicly read protests by bishops against persecution in Germany, in Russia (where not so long ago there was

war. Nations which can afford war don't need to wage it.)

It would seem, therefore, that those pacifists who place emphasis on the economic causation of war must be essentially right and could, in fact, only be wrong in the event of its being established that such material urges to war are mere rationalizations of a human psychological need for violent conflict, with such an abstraction as nationalism as the excuse for indulging it. Presumably, it is along such lines that John Nibb tends to think, but I suggest that possibly he is failing to differentiate between the reasons why wars happen and the reasons why men fight in them when they have happened.

The former, I submit, are solely a matter of economics and arise out of Governments' desires to give effect to their nationals' persistent demands for better material standards of life while lacking the indigenous sources of wealth necessary for satisfying such "just" claims. The latter are nearly as numerous and diverse as the participants themselves and do; it must be admitted, bear a preponderantly "nationalistic" aspect which, however, there is reason to suppose is most likely to be a "rationalization" of a known but unadmitted economic necessity for war. Conscience does make cowards of most of us!

The argument that the increase in attempts at national self-sufficiency in the contemporary war-ravaged world both disproves the economic diagnosis of war causation and makes nonsense of pacifist suggestions for self-sufficiency as a means to peace is not a sound one. I do not see why a nation which decided to be self-sufficient within its means for the purpose of keeping the peace should inevitably find itself involved in war.

THOS. B. SANDERS
136 Elgin Rd., Ilford, Essex.

Mercy in War

I have recently returned from India in a ship which included among its passengers at least five people from different ships who had experience of being torpedoed. Of these, four of them told me that when their ships had the first torpedo the submarine waited around for about half an hour (time

persecution to the death) so strong has been the Orthodox tradition of submission to Caesar that no voices have been raised in complaint. Nevertheless whether persecution has not been very real in Russia, compared even with Germany, members of the Baptist communion and the Society of Friends will be able to inform you.

* * *

Your Lordship will not wish to make a mock of the blood of the persecuted flock of Jesus Christ for political advantage.

We are, therefore, disturbed that, in introducing this pamphlet of letters detailing patriotic contributions for armoured tanks to secure the expulsion of the foe from "the sacred boundaries of our great Fatherland" you say that Christianity in Russia is "permitted to express itself." You add that "the Holy Russia of which Stephen Graham wrote was not an invention."

Does your Lordship mean that Christianity is permitted to express itself as a controlling influence in Russia today, or that the sacred Fatherland is "holy" in Stephen Graham's sense of accepting, as a country and government, the Christian religion? Or do you merely mean that priests may give money for guns and receive acknowledgment?

Are the priests no longer excluded from the social benefits given to the workers? Are those workers given such freedom that religious processions may now be photographed without fear of arrest? Is freedom of religion, not included among the freedoms of the Atlantic Charter (which is adhered to by the USSR), now accepted? Can a worker who joins the Communist Party and thereby becomes a member of the one permissible party, called by Marshal Stalin "Bolshevik"—can he remain a professing Christian? Has the anti-God Museum in Moscow been closed? Has Lenin's definition of Communist orthodoxy in these matters, in his book "Religion," been repudiated?

If not, my Lord, surely your preface, however well-intentioned as a contribution—although a thoughtless one—to the war-effort, is calculated to deceive the ignorant; to cause the simple to stumble; to backslide on the cause of the Russian faithful; and to give excuse to the cynical contempt of the Church's persecutors, who regard Christians as lickers of spittle, faint-hearts, weather-vanes to the wind of power.

SERGIUS

for the lifeboats to get clear) before firing another torpedo.

These torpedoes took place off Spain, Africa, and India, when the ships were sailing alone, and they were not the only cases I heard about where time had been allowed for the crews to get clear. It may be, of course, that the submarine waited to see if the ships were sinking, but as I heard of no atrocities being committed against those escaping in lifeboats, might it not more likely have been a deliberate exercise of mercy by the U-boat commanders?

R. D. LEAKEY

c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd.,
Oxted, Surrey.

The Paris Raid

I have just been listening to a report on the French radio of our aerial attack on Paris last Sunday afternoon. The account might have been somewhat exaggerated, but it seems pretty certain that quite a large number of French people lost their lives.

Those English people who know Paris in the Spring and how the Parisians flock to their racecourses, football grounds, etc., and enjoy the sunshine on a Sunday afternoon, will wonder what was in the mind of the authorities in choosing such a time for the raid.

The accounts of civilians I heard sounded thoroughly bitter towards us for the attack. These are the people who, it is hoped, will help us if and when we invade the Continent. If we continue these attacks on our former Allies, we might have a very disagreeable surprise when that time comes.

A. E. TERRY

22 Nottingham Rd.,
Melton Mowbray.

Journal of One Month's Imprisonment in Chelmsford Gaol. By G. F. Dutch, Co-operative War Resisters' Association (Sec. A. E. Moir, 68 Ingleby, Rd., Ilford). 6d. (7d. post paid)—Day-by-day record by one who can compare prison conditions today with those obtaining when he was imprisoned as a CO 1916-19. George Dutch refused to work in prison and was duly punished,

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
*** PPU HEADQUARTERS, ***
Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

P.S.B. Notes

THE Pacifist Service Bureau of Dick Sheppard House, always has in hand a number of activities for the successful conclusion of which the co-operation of groups and individuals in the movement is essential. The following notes give a brief description of some of the current jobs we are tackling, and I hope that there will be some readers who will feel able to give us their help.

The appeal which was launched a few weeks ago asking for homes for Jewish refugee children, should they be allowed into the country from occupied Europe, has met with an encouraging response and some 200 offers have been received. We shall be approaching the Government in the very near future on this matter and would therefore like to receive any further offers as soon as possible.

The Bureau has been approached by a big London hospital and asked to get together a group of six ward orderlies. The numbers are not yet quite made up so we should be very glad to hear from anybody interested. We are particularly anxious to find the men required, for the proposal from this department of the hospital was prompted by the excellent reports they had had of COs working there as stokers.

If there are any men or women who would still like to take part in the yellow fever vaccine experiment, the doctor who is conducting the work would be glad to know of them. Thirty people have already been inoculated.

Will groups who have not yet completed the Youth Questionnaire please do so at the earliest possible moment. 56 replies have been received and we are anxious to get down to the job of correlation.

Are there any women interested in work with children or domestic work in evacuation hostels? The Bureau is constantly being approached by evacuation authorities with requests for staff. There are also a number of secretarial jobs available for women in hospitals.

A case has come to the notice of the Bureau of a man who is at present in a mental home but who could get his discharge if we could find someone to take responsibility for him for the first month. It seems that the most suitable place for him would be in some land community where he could be kept busy and where he would have a chance of picking up the threads of his life. His only sympathetic relations are not in a good position to look after him for this period but would meet his expenses. If there is any group who feel able to tackle this piece of service, will they contact me and I will put them in touch with the relations.

We should once again like to issue a reminder that one of our main jobs is to assist COs to find employment.

PSB Rest House will shortly be in need of new wardens. What we want is a married couple who would be really interested in running the house and making a home, for short periods, for relief workers on leave, for distress cases, and for COs visiting London for tribunals, etc. Will anyone interested please get into touch with me?

JACK CARRUTHERS

We are asked to state that Dr. Alex Wood has accepted nomination for the Chairmanship of the PPU. Nominations close next Friday, Apr. 30 (second post), and voting papers are to be returned by May 17.

THE DEBATE IS OPEN!

Let Geo. Ll. Davies, Laurence Housman, Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Reginald Reynolds, Alan Staniland, Roy Walker and Howard Whitten open your group discussion on:

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Fire-Watch Test Case

THE position of conscientious objectors in Civil Defence in view of the gradual destruction, as the war has gone on, of "the civil and humanitarian basis" of those services, is discussed as the main feature of the Apr. issue of the CBCO Bulletin. The comments of COs in Civil Defence are invited by the Board.

Another feature of this issue is the number of legal points that have been discovered and followed up by the Central Board. One of these arose

LETTERS - Cont'd

Indian Deadlock

It is to be hoped that many of your readers may be led to ask themselves what more they can do about the Indian deadlock. They may be interested to know what the groups in the Bromley Region have done so far.

Believing that the situation demanded something more direct than letter-writing to MPs, we asked the two Tory MPs who represent the constituencies covered by the Region to receive a deputation at the House during one lunch hour, stating a specific time and preferable dates. This the MPs agreed to do, and in one case seven members (who spent three-quarters of an hour with their MP) and in the other case four members, managed to spare time to come from some distance to the House. In neither case can we claim to have converted our MPs wholly to our point of view! Nevertheless we felt more had been achieved than would have been the case through years of letter-writing.

We came to the conclusion that, even though these MPs represent many years of traditional Conservative policy, they are not themselves entirely happy about the Government's imperial policy in general and particularly in relation to India. Both MPs offered to see Mr. Amery and present to him our point of view, and we know that this has been done. We would suggest that every group or individual member should exercise this right, and instead of lobbying in the ordinary way, should request a special interview.

The other local activity has been the holding of open-air meetings in Bromley High St. at regular intervals on Saturday afternoons, so that we now find the public expects to find us there, and that comments and questions from the audience are increasingly well-informed, partly due, we believe, to sales of "Free India." We feel that these meetings are of even more value in reaching the general public, and thereby affecting public opinion, than indoor conferences of people already informed or perhaps already converted.

W. G. BARLEX
219 Croydon Rd., Beckenham.

Conscription

What a gloomy prospect is presented by the brave New Order that is being held out before us, and for which we claim to be fighting! According to the Archbishop of Canterbury we are to have two generations of military conscription after the war is over. And now here is "Observer" (of all men) saying, "I agree with him (Mr. Harold C. Snow) that a policy of 'full employment' necessitates permanent industrial conscription." May I strongly and earnestly recommend both "Observer" and Mr. Snow, to study the policy advocated by the Economic Reform Club and Institute, of 32 Queens Av., London, N.10? Given a sane economic system, adjusted to the needs of the machine age, and including a scheme of State control (as distinct from bank control) of the issue of credit, properly related to production, I fail to see why we should be forced to accept industrial conscription as a cure for unemployment. For me, conscription, in any form or for any purpose, is an intolerable evil, closely akin both to slavery and to idolatry.

WILLIAM J. G. FARRER
Brandelhow, Woodland Close,
Woodford Wells, Essex.

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More Food for Starving Greece

TURKEY is again helping Greece.

A message from Ankara on Apr. 15, reported in The Times, says that arrangements have been completed for the dispatch of food from Greece to Turkey. The Turkish steamer Yilmaz (770 tons) is expected to leave about the end of the month for the Piraeus with a cargo of dried vegetables and other food-stuffs for the poorer classes of Athens and the Piraeus. The Turkish Red Crescent is also sending 100 beds and medical appliances.

On the previous day Ankara reported the transfer to Turkey of five British cargo steamers, aggregating about 25,000 tons. The transfer incidentally makes nonsense of the suggestion that no shipping could be found for food-relief to Belgium, even if—as is not the case—no Swedish shipping were available. But it is permissible to wonder if there is any connection between the transfer of these British ships and the further measures of relief.

The additional relief comes none too soon. The last official report from Greek sources here is that, despite the Canadian relief, the daily death rate in the Athens area has not sunk below 200, and little general improvement is reported in the condition of the children whose chief need is for milk and vitamins, and not only bread.

But this further aid to Greece only underlines the injustice of the continued refusal to permit anything to reach Belgium from overseas. We are reminded that it has been plainly stated more than once in the American press that relief to Greece was permitted only because Turkey insisted, and Turkey is an important neutral whom we feel bound to conciliate.

THERE is still no news about the possibility of the Caritas taking food-relief to Belgian children on her next voyage. Nothing has been heard since the Ministry of Economic Warfare stated in the House of Commons (Mar. 25) that the Government had not granted the Belgian Premier's plea that she should carry relief supplies on her voyage to Europe last month.

The Food-Relief Campaign has now published its new factual survey on "Belgium" on similar lines to the earlier pamphlet on "Greece." It summarizes the relief work done in Belgium in the Great War—fifty times as much as is now proposed!—traces the causes and development of famine conditions in this war, outlines the three sets of proposals, and concludes with M. Pierlot's plea to Britain last month. All who are concerned to end the present deadlock should carefully study these facts.

The 8th. Army's Religion

The most religious body of Englishmen today is the Eighth Army, says the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. C. M. Chavasse), writing in his Diocesan Chronicle.

Quoting the Bishop, the Birmingham Evening Despatch of Apr. 2 concludes with the following from the Diocesan Chronicle:

"Those men, who, with bodies trained and toughened, are learning in the forces the joy of fellowship and service and sacrifice, are acquiring clean eyes and pure hearts to see God."

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

THE IDEAL GIFT for Humanitarians, "The Stamper of the Skies: a Bible for Animal Lovers." Compiled by Will Hayes from the Scriptures and Folk-lore of all peoples. Beautifully illustrated. Boards 6s., paper 2s. 6d. postage 6d. The Order of the Great Companions Hertha's Chapel, Meopham Green, Kent.

MEETINGS, &c.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA Advisory Bureau meets on the last Wed. in each month at 18 Adalia Cres., Leigh-on-Sea. All C.O.s welcome.

PERSONAL

BY ANDREW STEWART. Send stamped addressed envelope for the latest leaflet, "Let Us Hang Our Heads," a personal summing-up of recent PPU activities. From author at 25 Devonshire Place Mews, London, W.1.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

FOSTER MOTHER or kindly couple to look after young baby, early June. Terms must be moderate. Box 849 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FRIENDS WAR RELIEF SERVICE needs volunteers for domestic, nursing, and cooking work in evacuation hostels, for practical work and social work. Write "Prisoners," F.W.R.S., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars, Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LONDON Co-operative Society members are urged to vote (at Sectional Meetings, Apr. 27, 28, and 29, and in shops, May 1) for J. M. Atkinson, a pacifist candidate for Management Committee.

WILL PACIFISTS in Hampshire interested in post-war service in France contact Ron Savage, Saddlers Farm, Lower Pennington, Lympstone, Hants.

NEW LITERATURE OF INTEREST

TO ALL P.N. READERS

The Politics of the Unpolitical, by Herbert Read, 7s. 6d. post free.

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GARDENER-HANDYMAN required for residential nursery refugee and evacuate children. Brecon and Edinburgh. Box 854 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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FILMS DEVELOPED, sixpence, prints two-pence each. Dawson, 15 Cliftonville Rd., Woolston, Warrington, Lancs.

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